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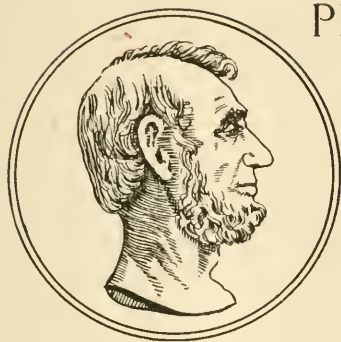




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National Republican Club, 1891



PROCEEDINGS · AT
THE · FIFTH · AN-
NUAL · DINNER
OF · THE · REPUB-
LICAN · CLUB · OF
THE · CITY · OF · NEW · YORK



HELD · AT · DELMONICO'S · ON
THE · EIGHTY-SECOND · ANNI-
VERSARY · OF · THE · BIRTHDAY
OF · ABRAHAM · LINCOLN · :
FEBRUARY · TWELFTH · 1891



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LIST OF GUESTS.

HONORABLE HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

HONORABLE ANTHONY HIGGINS.

HONORABLE WILBUR F. SANDERS.

HONORABLE WILLIAM E. MASON.

HONORABLE WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

HONORABLE HENRY C. ROBINSON.

HONORABLE CHARLES DANIELS.

HONORABLE THOMAS C. PLATT.

HONORABLE JOHN M. THURSTON,

HONORABLE S. B. ELKINS.

HONORABLE L. E. CHITTENDEN.

HONORABLE P. C. LOUNSBURY.

REVEREND H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.

REVEREND S. H. VIRGIN, D.D.

REVEREND R. S. MACARTHUR, D.D.

GENERAL H. L. BURNETT.

GENERAL J. N. KNAPP.

COLONEL S. V. R. CRUGER.

EDWARD T. BARTLETT, ESQUIRE.

CORNELIUS N. BLISS, ESQUIRE.

G. J. SCHEERIN, ESQUIRE.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Emancipator.

Martyr.

Born February 12, 1809.

Admitted to the Bar, 1837.

Elected to Congress, 1846.

Elected Sixteenth President of the United States, November, 1860.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

Re-elected President of the United States, November, 1864.

Assassinated, April 14, 1865.

COMMITTEE.

ARTHUR L. MERRIAM, CHAIRMAN.

JOHN S. SMITH.

JOB E. HEDGES.

JOHN F. BAKER.

LUCIUS C. ASHLEY.

CEPHAS BRAINERD.



DINNER OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB.



THE fifth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York was held at Delmonico's, on the eighty-second anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, February 12, 1891. The banquet was preceded by prayer by the Rev. Samuel H. Virgin, D. D.:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we recognize Thee as the Giver of every good and perfect gift, and we pause on the threshold of our evening's entertainment, that we may lift to Thee the voice of thanksgiving and praise for the blessings that have made our land great and brilliant; for the treasures that Thou hast mingled in the soil; for the comforts that Thou hast given to its homes, the energy that Thou hast disclosed in its business and for the blessing that Thou hast constantly bestowed upon us.

"We thank Thee for the men, good and great, that Thou hast given us in all the years of our history, and we pray that Thou wouldst help us so to preserve the story of their youth and their age, that coming generations may be stimulated to like consecration to the true, to the beautiful and the good. Accept our praise for the presence of Thy servant, preserved for so many years to be with us to honor our assembly to-night.

"We would pray for the great soldier who lies in sickness, that his life may be preserved for many months and years, and help us so to catch the inspiration of that goodness, in the gift of the

great and good man whose name and whose birth we are celebrating to-night, that we may all consecrate ourselves to noble manhood and to Christian service; that the land may be glorified in the present, and in the years to come, show the radiance, the richness and the fullness of Thy choicest mercies, for Jesus' sake. Amen."

After the last course of the dinner had been served, the Chairman, Mr. Brookfield, said, after being received with great applause and cheers:

"Gentlemen, I observe that our thoughtful and efficient dinner committee have, upon the printed programme, announced no speech by your president. I mention that as an evidence of their wisdom and foresight. (Laughter.) Independently of that, my knowledge, my acquaintance with those distinguished men who are to address you, forcibly suggests that I shall at least be discreet, by commencing at once the order of exercises arranged by the Committee. I will therefore simply take time enough to extend to all assembled here, in behalf of the Republican Club of the City of New York a cordial greeting, and to say that we honor the guests; that they are to-night heartily welcomed by an organization composed entirely of Republicans who are still firm in the faith, who are not discouraged by defeat, but are more than ever determined to defend the principles of Republicanism as enunciated by the Republican party. (Great applause.)

"I will not detain you longer. (Cries of "Louder, louder.") It makes no difference whether you hear it or not. (Laughter.) I will not detain you longer, but will call for the reading of some letters from prominent Republicans who are unable to be with us."

The Secretary, Mr. Hedges, then read the letters.

After the reading of the letters by the Secretary, the Chairman said: The first toast, "Abraham Lincoln."

"Not on its base Monadnoc surer stood
Than he to common sense and common good.
Self centred; when he launched the genuine word
It shook or captivated all who heard,
Ran from his mouth to mountains and to sea
And burned in noble hearts, proverb and prophecy."

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the Rev. DR WAYLAND, who will respond to this toast.



SPEECH BY THE REV. H. L. WAYLAND, D. D.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club :

You have assigned me a difficult task. You bid me speak of the virtues of Abraham Lincoln and the debt due him from posterity; and I suppose that you expect me to be through before the rising of the sun. Now, if you had asked me to speak of the private and civic virtues of Aaron Burr, if you had bidden me speak of the iron resolution and uncalculating patriotism of James Buchanan, of the nobleness and magnanimity of the sympathy extended us in our hour of trial by the nations of the old world, I could have finished the subject far within fifteen minutes, and have had twenty minutes to spare. (Laughter and applause.)

Was Abraham Lincoln a great man? History is very apt to ask, about a man, "What did he *do*?" As the executive head of the Nation and as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, he carried the country through the most gigantic war of modern times, to the achievement of a complete and unsurpassed victory. He restored the union of the states, and re-established the national authority. He annihilated slavery, which had been, through all history, our calamity and curse and shame and menace.

And his work was marred by no drawback. Napoleon, at the close of a career of unparalleled splendor, left his country, humiliated, prostrate. Oliver Cromwell died; and the majestic work which he had done was marred, and a wave of reaction swept over the landmarks of liberty which he had erected. But, in Lincoln's own words, "When peace came, it came to stay;" and with it came and stayed liberty, and every blessing for which the war was waged. The Proclamation of Emancipation was never revoked. (Applause).

Was he a great man? It has been the happy lot of some men to achieve a great work without having to contend with obstacles.

What did he *overcome*? How truly did he say, when thirty years ago yesterday, amid the tears and prayers of his neighbors, he left the home to which he was to return four years later, a warrior who had died upon the field of victory—how truly and modestly did he say, “I leave you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with considerable difficulties.” Great need had he to say to his neighbors, “I hope you will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain.” Never did a man enter upon so great a work, attended with obstacles so portentous. All through the months following his election, the enemies of the country had their way; the then President of the United States served, as a former governor of Illinois said, “as a bread and milk poultice to bring the rebellion to a head.” And Lincoln’s hands were tied. At last when he took the oath, what did he find? The situation was described in a sort of parable by a letter which Lincoln himself wrote years before. A business house in the East had written, asking about the resources of Mr. Brown, with whom they had some dealings. Mr. Lincoln replied:

“I am well acquainted with Mr. Brown, and know his circumstances. First of all, he has a wife and baby; together they ought to be worth \$50,000 to any man. Secondly, he has an office in which there is a table worth \$1.50, and three chairs worth, say, \$1. Last of all, there is in one corner a large rat-hole, which will bear looking into. Respectfully yours, A. LINCOLN.”

When he came to take the inventory of the national assets, he found in many a home mothers, children, affections, hopes, not to be counted by dollars. He found in the national treasury a table worth \$1.50 and three chairs worth \$1, which Floyd and Cobb had not carried away—because they were screwed to the floor; and he found, on the south side of the national premises, a large rat-hole, which, indeed, would bear looking into, for down it had vanished prosperity, honor, justice; and the national existence itself was just disappearing, when Abraham Lincoln rescued it; though, strange to say, he was criticised because he grasped it by the hair of its head. (Applause and cries of “Good!”)

He, a country lawyer, found himself called upon to create and to command an army and a navy, to re-organize the national ser-

vice which had become honey-combed with treason. He had to confront open enemies with steadfast opposition, to countermine the plots of secret foes, and to unite and to re-animate the often discouraged friends of liberty. He had to count upon the steadfast opposition of the Classes in the Old World,* and to reckon as his friends, less than half a dozen members of the House of Commons, and the plain, toiling people, like the weavers of Lancashire, who, in the agonies of the cotton famine, said to the Government, "We will clem a bit longer; but you shall not array Great Britain against our brothers in America, and against him, their chief." A few years ago, when spending a Sunday in Lancashire, I could not resist the impulse to thank these heroic men for their friendship in our hours of agony; I felt that I could stoop and kiss the ground on which those men stood. He had to contend in the arena of International Law with the veteran publicists of England and France; and, while walking, to use his own illustration, like Blondin, upon a wire across an unfathomable abyss, he had to listen to the angry and querulous complaints of those who would urge him forward and of those who would hold him back.

We criticize him now because of the mistakes and the delays. *We* could achieve the same results at much less cost, in much less time. Perhaps, yes; because *he* broke out the path. As well might the summer tourist who crosses the ocean inside of six days, criticise Columbus for the tediousness and deviousness of his voyage, or the men of the Mayflower, because they were ninety days from the old Plymouth to the new.

It demands much more greatness to be the constitutional ruler of a free nation in time of peril than to be an absolute monarch. The autocrat consults no one, conciliates no one. He simply says: "So I will; so I order," as the Czar of the Russias marked out the course of the railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow, by laying down a ruler and drawing a straight line on the map. That required no genius, no labor; an idiot could have done it. The labor, the ability was demanded of the engineers who followed. The magistrate of a free state has to consult public opinion. He must take, not the course that is ideally the best, but the one that will command the assent and the co-operation of the legislative, and of the people who are behind both ruler and Congress. He must argue, he must explain, he must pacify, he must win;

and all this often at the expense of that promptness and secrecy which is the life and soul of success in war. Nowhere does the greatness of Mr. Lincoln more plainly appear than in the blended wisdom, patience, cheerfulness, kindliness, with which he gained those whose co-operation was a condition of victory.

Was he great, judged by what he *said*? His speeches and writings were the embodiment of compact reasoning, expressed with homely sense, inspired by humanity, radiant with patriotism. Is not he a great man who says that which no one has ever said before, but which, the moment it is said, every one recognizes as the eternal verity? No one had said, "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong;" but when he said it, every one recognized it as an axiom. If slavery is not wrong, then the words "right" and "wrong" cease to have any meaning. His words are a lesson to every young man, teaching that the secret of great speech is, to have yielded one's self to great impulses. He was not often mistaken; but certainly he erred when, in the immortal address at Gettysburg, he said, "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here." So long as men remember those immortal three days of July; so long as history records that there the rebellion reached its high-water mark, and that Gettysburg made Appomattox; so long as men shall go on a sacred pilgrimage to Round Top and Devil's Den, to the grove where Reynolds fell, and to the slope up which Picket made his charge (glorious, but for the cause), so long shall men remember every word which he spoke, standing under the November sky of 1863, words in which human speech makes a near approach to perfection; so long men will "highly resolve that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Applause.)

The great historic Party which in 1860 placed at the head of its column Abraham Lincoln, and beside him the illustrious man who is your guest this evening, the Party which has achieved for the Republic such great and beneficent victories as were never achieved by any other party, might well take as its platform through all coming time the sentiments and utterances of Lincoln, adapted to the ever varying demands of the hour.

Of his greatness, we can argue from what he *was*. Single in aim, unselfish, patient, cheerful, not seeking personal ends, doing things most disagreeable to himself because he thought they were

for the welfare of the country; appointing men to high station who were personally repugnant to him, because he thought the popular voice demanded it; sagacious, honestly shrewd, far-sighted, almost unerring in his judgment of events and of men—his character was a great part of the strength of the national cause, was another army re-enforcing the Army of the Potomac. If he had shown in the smallest degree petulance, avarice, fraud, personal ambition, it would have been a greater calamity than ten defeats like Chancellorsville. The concentration of effort, the unity of purpose, which, under a monarchy, would have been secured by force, came to him solely through the confidence which gradually he won. “I have seen,” says the most brilliant of American essayists, “I have seen the wisest statesman and most pregnant speaker of our generation, a man of humble birth and ungainly manners, of little culture beyond what his own genius supplied, become more absolute in power than any monarch of modern times through the reverence of his countrymen for his honesty, his wisdom, his sincerity, his faith in God and man, and the nobly humane simplicity of his character.”

He had a wise generosity toward his lieutenants. You remember that Louis XIV. stayed safely in his palace while a siege was carrying on, until the General reported to him that it was absolutely certain that the beleaguered city must fall within a certain time; and then the Grand Monarch would set out in state for the camp, and would arrive just in time to receive the surrendered keys; and his flatterers said, “Turenne failed sometimes, and Luxembourg sometimes; but victory always waits upon the steps of His Sacred Majesty.” And so he pocketed the glory which of right belonged to the planning general and the toiling soldier. But never man gave more generous tribute of praise than Lincoln bestowed upon every one who was enlisted in the national cause; and so, like begetting like, it came about that never ruler had more noble and uncalculating devotion than he from the great-souled army, and especially from those two unparalleled leaders, one of whom, five years ago last August, was borne with more than royal honors to his grave in the Metropolis which he loved. The other—how can I trust myself to speak of him?—peerless Captain, unsullied patriot, a thunderbolt on the field of battle, in peace the gentlest of men, the most loving of friends, laden with the grati-

tude, the reverence, the love of a Nation, the First Citizen of the Republic, lingers between life and death—(the speaker was here interrupted by the orchestra playing “Marching through Georgia,” and was followed by cheers from the entire assembly, standing) ready, when the bugle sounds the recall to join the army of the Immortals. May a kindly Providence still spare him to us and lengthen out the golden sunset of his honored day.

It seems to be a demand of human nature that every great cause shall somehow incarnate itself in a person and a name; and so the name of Lincoln came to be, to America, and to all the world, the rallying cry, the embodiment of the idea of Liberty and Union. Those who sneeringly spoke of the Boys in Blue as “Lincoln’s hirelings,” spoke more wisely than they knew. “Hirelings” they were not: but they were “Lincoln’s,” just as truly as the best soldiers that ever trod the soil of Great Britain were Cromwell’s Ironsides.

Lincoln was great in that he knew his bounds, and attempted nothing which would lead to ruin.

I cannot call a man great who is not a *whole* man. Napoleon, colossal upon the intellectual side, had not even the rudimentary organs of a moral nature. He was a great half-man. A semi-circle is not a circle, even though it have a radius of a million miles. In our hero, the soul matched the intellect.

He was a leader, always in front, yet never so far in advance as to lose his hold upon those who followed. He did not, like a too progressive locomotive, dash ahead and break the coupling, and leave the train stalled and helpless.

His vast common sense gave him the grasp of principles and made him a master, alike in diplomacy and in war, in everything that did not depend upon arbitrary technicalities.

He was born great, and he became great. He was great when, at the age of twenty-two, seeing in the Crescent City, a slave woman flogged, he, an obscure flat-boatman on the Mississippi, said, “If ever I get a chance at that institution, I will hit it hard.” He was great when he was hardly known beyond Sangamon County. After he became prominent in the Nation, Richard Fletcher, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, said to Francis Wayland (from whom I have the incident), “Years ago, I had some correspondence with him on a legal matter; and

he reminded me more of John Marshall than any one with whom I have ever conferred." He was great when, disregarding the counsels of timid friends, on the 17th of June, 1858, in his speech accepting the nomination for Senator, he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." But he grew, and especially during those four years when men lived fast. From the cautious conservator of the Fugitive Slave Law to the author of the Emancipation Proclamation, from the Inaugural Address of 1861 to that of 1865, there is a progress such as has rarely been measured by mortal man. What men call his inconsistency was in reality only his growth.

He was the typical American. He was the product of our soil. In forming him, Nature

Chose sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West;

With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true. (Applause.)

It will always be the glory of America that she offers a career to such men as Lincoln and Grant, who, in monarchical or aristocratic States, could never have risen to the destiny for which they were created. He was the typical American; not Washington; Washington was the product of the monarchy under which he was born, and, in spirit, belonged to the Old World. Is it possible to think of Washington, in a public address, asking, "Shall we carry on the War with an elder-stalk squirt charged with rose-water?" Is it possible to think of Washington, at midnight, dancing about in his chamber, with long, lean legs protruding from a somewhat abbreviated night-gown, as Lincoln did when Stanton carried him the news from Gettysburg? Gen. Washington would have arrayed himself in full regimentals before receiving the tidings; or he would have said, "Mr. Stanton, I shall be at the President's office to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, if you have any important communication to make."

Andrew Jackson was born under a monarchy; anybody might know that; and he believed devoutly in the divine right of His Imperial Majesty, the Czar, Andrew the First.

Lonely and sorrowful in his life, Lincoln was fortunate in his death. Years could have added nothing to his fame. Wolfe, had he lived a hundred years, could never again have fought a bat-

tle which should give a continent to the English-speaking race. Nelson, had he sailed the seas for many a year, could never have found again a fleet of the enemy to annihilate; nor could Mr. Lincoln, by any possibility, have had the opportunity to carry his country through another war for the national existence, nor was there another race waiting to be emancipated. When there remained nothing that earth could give, God himself bestowed the honor which He reserves for only a few of his most beloved children, the crown of martyrdom; and "he went up to heaven (as O'Connell grandly said of Wilberforce) bearing three million broken fetters in his hands." (Long continued applause.)

History has long ago pronounced its award. Venerated by his countrymen, worshiped by the race which he freed, honored by those who had been his sharpest critics, his name is a spell to charm with through the civilized world, calling sleeping nations into life, awakening hope in the burdened and oppressed. Patiently he waited for victory in life; and it came. Patiently he has waited for recognition in death; and it has come. History is slow in its advances; but it arrives.

Those men, if I may call them men, who jeered at him as an uncouth backwoodsman, a boor, a clown, a baboon, a gorilla—where are they to-day? Oblivion searches for them in vain; while he, reversing the laws of nature, grows larger and more distinct as he withdraws into history.

He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient, in his simple faith sublime
Till the wise years decide.

Great captains, with their guns and drums,
(and, I may venture to add, some captains not so very great, who have only drums, who have left their guns at home).

Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour;
But at last silence comes;

These all are gone, and standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame.

The kindly-earnest, brave, fore-seeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

(Great applause, waving of napkins, and three cheers for Dr. Wayland.)

The Chairman then read the following toast: "The Surviving Standard Bearer of 1860!"—

"HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine, whose clear head, firm principles, and ample experience none who sat with him in the Senate can contest."—*Sumner*.

"I point you to the whole Union as a monument of political grandeur, towering toward the heavens, upon which the friend of freedom, wherever upon our globe he may be, may gaze; around whose highest summit the sunlight of glory forever shines, and at whose base a free people reposes, and, I trust, forever will repose."—*Hamlin*.

The Chairman said in introducing Mr. Hamlin:

"Gentlemen, one of the founders of the Republican party, the friend and associate of Lincoln, the man for whom his fellow citizens throughout the land entertain an affectionate regard, needs no introduction in a gathering like this. We will have the pleasure of listening to Mr. Hamlin." (Great applause, three cheers and a tiger.)





SPEECH OF HON. HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

MR. HAMLIN then said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club:

I thank you for this cordial greeting. It stirs the blood of age and makes the pulses leap. (Loud applause.) But I am too sensible that it is a demonstration belonging not to me, but to the great and important events in which I was a very humble participant. (Cries of "No, no, no!" and applause.) Men are as unimportant in crises like those through which we have passed as the meekest atom of dust that is borne away upon the bosom of the wind. (Great applause.) It is principle, everlasting and undying principle, that commands and challenges our attention and our respect. (Great applause.)

Mr. President, I fear there is a grave misunderstanding. I came here with what I supposed an express understanding that I should not be called upon to speak. (Laughter and applause.) My age alone should excuse me. (A voice: "You are always young with us.") (Laughter and applause.) Yes, Mr. President, young in years while the heart shall throb. (Great applause.) But alas, the limbs will tell you another story. (Laughter.)

I came from my home to be with you to-night to do homage to the memory of one of the greatest men the world has ever known. (Great applause.) I left my home at the hazard of my health, that I might testify by my presence here in joining with you in paying a tribute to the memory and the worth of Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.)

It was for that I came, and not to talk. But I had a thought in my mind which it was my purpose to suggest to this noble club, and I will do it. We speak of Washington as the Father of his Country, and we know that by his Fabian policy, the liberties and the independence of these colonies were finally secured. We know

the wisdom of George Washington aided in laying deep and strong the foundations upon which our Government rests. We know that he aided in launching the old ship of State upon that foundation that has outridden all the storms in the past, as, in God's name, we trust it will outride all the storms in the future. (Great applause.) All honor then to George Washington and the commemoration of his name.

I think, Mr. President, that you have in your By-Laws a provision that this day shall be saved to the memory of the birth of Mr. Lincoln. Do you remember that we have incorporated in the statutes of our country, one that makes the birthday of George Washington a national birthday? It rests upon no separate articles of political organization, but it rests upon the everlasting law. I have come here to-night, and if I have any power, I would ask it with all the force I can urge, that you join with me in making the birthday of Abraham Lincoln a national birthday. (Great applause.) That, in addition to participating with you on this occasion, has brought me here. They are equally entitled to have their birthdays commemorated. Every age has produced its great and distinguished men, the names of some of whom shall never die. In art, in literature, in arms, in the mechanic arts, in everything that serves to aid and elevate the people, the world has produced its great and distinguished men. Abraham Lincoln was not an educated man, but he was a learned man. (Great applause.) The world was the school in which Abraham Lincoln graduated. (Great applause.) It was not confined to the walls of your colleges and your higher schools. He was educated in the great school of the world. His professors, his tutors, were the men with whom he came in contact in after life, and learned the lesson of humanity which belonged to the world. (Great applause.) Such was the school in which Abraham Lincoln was educated. Why, that little gem of a speech which he made at Gettysburg (great applause and cries of "Good, good!") will be taught by our mothers to their children, and it will stand as a gem of English literature in all the ages that shall come. (Great applause.) It was a little speech that spoke from the man who was educated in the schools of the world, and it came closer home to the hearts and the firesides of our people. Yes, read the life carefully of Lincoln by Nicolay and Hay. They give you a better idea of the early training and

the early schooling of that eminent man, and you can learn there how close he was to the hearts of all our people. Was it an education equal to that other school? I will not stop to discuss the question. Undoubtedly the blending of the two would be the desideratum, but which is the better, I stand not here to declare. (Cries of "Good, good!" and applause.)

One was an education that brought the man home directly to the great mass of our people. They felt it. They felt his words, that would have been cold as the icicle dropping purely from the educated man of the schools.

Now, shall we not, good Republicans of this club—and I am glad to meet every one of them—(Great applause.) Although I am old in years, time has not staled, or custom cloyed, the interest that I feel in sound Republicanism. (Great applause.) But, alas, I am grieved at some of the doings of our National Legislature. (Great applause.) They cast a shade of sadness over my daily life, when I witness the treachery, the dishonesty, and the degraded condition in which some of our Senators stand. (Great applause, and cries of "Good, good!" and "Hit them again!")

Now, Mr. President, the time has come when all the bitter asperities that existed against Mr. Lincoln have ceased. The world will say that his birthday should be a national holiday. Had I remained in the Senate to this hour, it would have been done before now. (Great applause.) You are a strong, a vigorous, an active, an intelligent, and purely a Republican party. Now, you can put that wheel in motion which shall roll on to success. See to it that the birthday of Abraham Lincoln is made a national holiday. (Great applause.) Perhaps I may say that mainly to utter those few words I was induced to come here. Remember, I can see the boys of blue as they tread their solitary rounds in their camping grounds, and I can hear a voice, gentle, but potent to my ear, that commands me from them to regard the memory of Abraham Lincoln as they would have done had God in his inscrutable wisdom changed our relative positions. (Great applause and cheers.)

The chairman then read the third toast as follows: "The Republican Party"—

"Founded upon the eternal principles of Justice, it has not only conserved the integrity of the Nation, established its credit,

and fostered its industries, but has been a potent factor in the enlightenment and ennoblement of mankind."

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. William E. Mason, who will respond to this toast. (Great applause.)





SPEECH OF HON. WM. E. MASON.

MR. MASON then said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Republican Club:

I have been touched to tears. I thought when I came here that I could speak of the party I love, because it was the party of Abraham Lincoln, but that creature over there—referring to Rev. Dr. Wayland—(laughter), God bless him (applause), and this man—referring to Mr. Hamlin—(applause), who stood shoulder to shoulder with the great man from the State I love, have so disconcerted me that I fear I shall fail before the Republicans of New York. Why, he said a moment ago, when speaking of the sad loss we had in this hall two weeks ago to-night, when that great statesman and financier passed over and through the valley of the shadow, this man said, “I wish to-night, that I could die right here.” And I said to him, “No, Hannibal Hamlin, I want you to live long enough to see my children, and my children’s children, that when I tell them the story of Abraham Lincoln, who touched with magic wand the shackles that held a million slaves, and you put your hand in the hand of my child, he will know that the story I told him is true.” (Great applause.)

We are standing in the shadow of a great grief. William T. Sherman, the friend of Abraham Lincoln, stands to-night balancing his chances between the now and the hereafter. That has fallen like a pall upon what sentiment I might express to you gentlemen to-night. But I say now, in passing his name, whether he lives or dies, that he was the great Captain, next to Ulysses S. Grant (great applause) close to the heart of Abraham Lincoln, and he will live forever in eternal youth in the hearts of the people of this Nation after he has joined the army of the Great Commander, who holds the world in the hollow of his hand. (Great applause.)

I am to speak, fellow citizens, to-night, of the Republican Party; and when I think of the length of time I have to talk upon that subject—but a few minutes—and of the many things I might say of its glorious past and its promising future, I feel like the boy who was set down in the middle of a hogshhead of sugar, who cried, “Oh, for a thousand tongues to do this thing justice.” (Great laughter and applause.) Of the past of the Republican Party, every man here present is as familiar as he is with his alphabet. Born out of the necessity of human freedom, inspired by the love of human liberty, it has made the grandest march of civilization and is to-day the wonder of the world. (Applause.) There is another party marching along, not side by side, but far in the rear of the Republican Party, that comes and camps upon the grounds we left the night before. (Laughter.) And after we have carried upon our banner, “No more slave States,” and fought them to a successful issue, and left that banner and camp for another achievement, they have built their fires from the ashes we have left, are seizing the Republican banner, and holding it high in their hands, adopt our old motto, while we have gone on to new victories. (Great applause.)

One of the great differences between these two parties is the question of the tariff, protection.

Now, a free trader is an honest but a misguided man. (Great laughter.) A tariff reformer is a free trader, but he is ashamed to acknowledge it. (Laughter.) The Republican Party stands for a tariff for protection as well as revenue, while the Democratic party, excuse me for mentioning that name in this assembly (laughter), stands for a tariff for revenue, with protection for Democratic States. (Great applause and laughter.)

Free trade is a small boy with a weak stomach and lungs, that dreams eventually of having the moon for a plaything. Protection is the rosy-cheeked lad with stout stomach, who hustles in the basket of chips for the breakfast fire. (Laughter.) Free trade is the engineer and the freight train side-tracked, snowbound and waiting for orders. (Laughter.) Protection is the engineer on the Limited, who draws his passengers safely into the last station on time. (Laughter.) Free trade is that ship that flounders at sea without rudder or sail, full of seasick passengers praying for a protection tug to take them into the harbor (laughter and ap-

plause), while protection is that grand old Republican ship, with the colors of our country at her mast; she steers clear of the reefs and rocks of Democracy, and has brought us into the harbor of peace and everlasting prosperity. (Great applause.) They tell us that the mission of the Republican Party is finished. Hannibal Hamlin saw that party in its swaddling clothes and in its cradle. (Applause.) He saw that party grow to the manhood that saved a Nation and made slaves citizens. (Cries of "Good," and applause.) But let me tell you, and let me say in parenthesis, that my colleague, Senator Higgins and I have agreed to-morrow, if God spares our lives, to introduce a bill in the House and in the Senate, at the same time, making the Birthday of Abraham Lincoln a National Holiday. (Cries of "Good," and great applause.)

You saw, as I said, the Republican Party in its cradle, you watched it until it was able to strike a blow for human liberty, but despite the ranting of the dudes and mugwumps, the mission of the Republican Party is not yet finished. (Cries of "No, no; right," and applause.)

You tell us, Brother Hamlin, God bless you and keep you, that the people in Congress have disappointed you. Well, they have disappointed the people who made them. (Applause.) The people can make and unmake Senators. (Cries of "Good, good!" and great applause.) And let the Senators understand, when they trade citizenship for a silver dime, that along the line of march of the Republican Party lie the withering bones of better men than they. (Great applause.) No, my friends, and I thank you for this cordial invitation and this kind reception; I am glad to meet the Republicans of New York, to whom we turn in the hour of our distress. Be faithful, but remember, as I said to him now, the Republican Party has not yet finished its mission. The mission of the Republican Party will never be finished until it is accepted among all the people of this country that honest commerce must be based upon an honest currency. (Great applause.)

The mission of the Republican Party will never be finished until we can elect a Congress at both ends of that hall, that will devote its time to the interests of American people, regardless of the sneers or the applause of every other nation in the world, and until protection and patriotism mean the same thing. (Great applause.)

The mission of the Republican Party, the birth of which you were present at (turning to Mr. Hamlin) will never be finished until we shall elect a Congress at both ends of the Capitol that shall announce the rule that the majority and not the minority shall govern this land. (Great applause.) The mission of that party will never be finished until every ship that sails the seas with the American flag at her masts has the same aid and the same protection that its competitors had from the nations they represent. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.)

The mission of the Republican Party will never be finished until the doctrine of State rights as taught by Jefferson Davis, as believed by many to-day, shall be driven to an eternal and everlasting damnation. (Laughter and applause.)

The mission of that party, of which Abraham Lincoln was the father and the son, will never be finished until every debt due the Union soldiers is paid; until nowhere in this land of ours can be found an honorably discharged soldier of his country, either in the streets of your city or in the highways and the by-ways, shelterless and homeless, holding in his hand the broken promises of Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.)

The mission of the Republican Party will never cease or be determined until every man, regardless of color, of caste, creed or condition, can approach the ballot box and hold his ballot, which contains his judgment and his conscience, and cast that ballot fearlessly and without question, and have that ballot counted exactly as it is cast. (Cries of "Good, good," and great applause.)

The mission of the Republican Party will never be finished until it is written in the book of the Nation that men, not money, make a country. (Great applause.) That citizenship is more sacred than silver. (Great applause.) That the fires of our forges had better go out and the chimneys stand as monuments against American skies to past prosperity, than that one citizen of this Republic should be stripped of the rights guaranteed him by the law. (Great applause.)

The Chairman then said: Gentlemen, Mr. Hamlin desires to say a word.

MR. HAMLIN—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Club: I want to say what I almost fear I omitted to say, that I rejoice to

meet with this grand club. But I have an engagement to meet also with the Union League this evening, and I arise for the purpose of asking you now to excuse me. (Three cheers and a tiger were given for Hannibal Hamlin, and while he was retiring, the members of the club arose and sang, "Good night, ladies," "Hamlin is a mighty good fellow—so say we all of us, so say we all," and "We won't go home till morning.")

The Chairman then read the fourth toast, "The Franchise"—

"Election by universal suffrage, as modified by the Constitution, is the one crowning franchise of the American people."

I have the pleasure of introducing to you the only Republican who ever represented the State of Delaware in the United States Senate, the Hon Anthony Higgins.





SPEECH OF HON. ANTHONY HIGGINS.

SENATOR HIGGINS then said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Republican Club :

Benjamin Franklin is reputed to have said that he would be glad to be able to come back a hundred years after his death to know and to see what science had achieved. But I wonder if Thomas Jefferson would equally desire to return one hundred years after he penned the Immortal Declaration, to know whether or not it be still true in the hearts of his countrymen that all just government rests upon the consent of the governed. For it is one of those fundamental axioms of eternal truth that government must be either by consent or by force. In force, I include fraud. There must be no other basis of government than the one or the other; and when this people, in the dayspring of their birth, carried to the highest pitch in reaction against absolutism, found utterance of their feelings in the words that Jefferson penned, they laid deep in the foundations of our polity the great principle that government rests upon the consent of the governed. And I believe that from that day, that principle did govern this people, until those entitled to vote, whose consent under the policy of the National Government and the respective States was to be taken in electing our rulers and following our policy; until after the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, our brethren of the South inaugurated their new rebellion against that amendment and against that principle. (Applause.) Then the issue was joined. In 1874, in the second election after the adoption of impartial suffrage, one of those waves of popular feeling went over this country which every free people are liable to, and the Democratic party obtained possession, for the first time since the war, of the lower branch of Congress. With the exception of a single Congress, they have held that branch until the meeting of

the present Congress, and then, for the first time, after fourteen years, the Republican Party found itself able affirmatively to legislate; found itself in control of the three branches of the Legislature—the Senate, the House and the Presidency. And they at once presented a measure that would complete the statute already upon the book, to secure to every citizen of this land, as far as they could, the free and equal right to vote. (Applause.) That measure met with the most unsparing denunciation, the most savage criticism. I know of but one just criticism to it, and that is, it was so moderate. (Laughter and applause.) That acting within the Constitutional limitations with which the Republican Party felt itself bound, it confined itself in this measure also within limits so narrow, that it fell far short of the possibility of doing that justice which is due from this Republic to every one of its humblest citizens. The measure did not undertake to touch State elections in any respect. It was confined exclusively to the elections of Congressmen. It did not undertake to interfere with the act of the voting for Congressmen even. It merely guarded and scrutinized it, and with the most beneficent results in favor of the purity and the freedom of election. It was absolutely confined to one feature, beyond that of imposing penalties for illegal voting, bribery of an election officer and the like, and that was, it created the machinery for a count of the vote by officers to be appointed under the authority of the Circuit Courts of the United States, and for the issue in contested cases of a certificate by those courts, determined after a judicial enquiry and determination, and that was all. That measure, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, has been defeated. It has gone into the limbo of the past. What I ask here and now is, has government by consent and not by force or by fraud gone with it in the South? (Cries of “No, no.”) As a representative of the South, I for them, to you of New York, say No. (Great applause.)

Beyond the provisions, and the beneficent provisions of the present statute, we can no farther look for federal aid. We can and will look only to ourselves. But, I beg here to say to all the forces in this Republic that stand for its oligarchical principles—all those who put the principles of oligarchy in sway—that we shall not look in vain to ourselves. (Great applause.) In that, Mr. Chairman, I do not refer to those portions of the South where

the negroes are dense in population. That difficult problem can only be left for the future and for the humanities to solve. But there is another South—too little understood and too often ignored, even by this intelligent North—that is not going to be left in any such predicament. (Applause.) I refer to those portions of the South where the blacks are not dense, where they do not exceed one fourth of the population, where the voters are mainly white, and where, as here, not the Democratic, but the Republican party, stands charged with the custody of everything that goes to make up the preservation of our civilization. (Gries of "Good, good," and great applause.)

In Delaware, in Maryland, in Virginia, in West Virginia, in the Piedmont and mountain districts of North Carolina and Tennessee, in Kentucky, in Missouri, in much of Arkansas, this contest is left to us to fight out, and fight it out we will. (Great applause.)

I beg to say, Mr. Chairman, that the election of 1890 was a test of nothing. An inspection of the returns of the votes over the country will show that the result arose from the fact that a very large portion of the people never went to the polls at all. You can find the true facts of this situation better in the full vote of the Presidential year of 1888. In that year, the Democratic majority in Maryland was but 6,182, out of a total vote of 210,921. The plurality and the majority in Maryland over all was but 1,415. The Democratic plurality in Virginia, in a total vote of 304,093, was but 1,539. And in West Virginia, out of a total vote of 158,309, was but 552, and while in Delaware the majority for the Democrats in 1888—through shameful disfranchisement in the county where I lived—amounted to 3,441; in the election of 1890, it came to the slender and dangerous limit of 543. (A voice: "Wait till '92," and applause.)

That election of 1888 disclosed the state of feeling in these border and Northern Southern States, with their then population; but, Mr. Chairman, the population of these Southern States is not to remain what it was then or what it is now. Southward, and no longer Westward, the march of empire takes its way. (Applause.) We are within sight of the last lands open for the homestead act in our Western States outside of the timber land. The mighty emigration of 60,000,000 of people that during the hitherto life of

the country has rolled ever Westward, has no longer any West in which to roll, and can only turn its current to the South, and there to find that capital and enterprise have already blazed the way. The planter has given place to the small farmer, while the miner, the miller, the factory and the foundry are rising on every hill-slope, and from the vast resources of capital in this metropolis and wherever else through this land it gathers, in London, England, or on the Continent, all are flowing in this channel, that take up and develop this marvelous wealth, these unparalleled resources of the Piedmont country of our Southern States. (Great applause.)

It is to that constituency of the present and the future that we appeal. We know that it will never be content with institutions resting not upon consent but upon force and upon fraud. It is well to bear in mind that in those sections population is now not dense. It is sparse. That it stands open for the coming of that great crowd of the future. When that day comes, Mr. Chairman, ignorance will be dispelled in this metropolis of the North as to the differentiation between the various sections of the South, the difference between its dense negro population and that country where the blacks are but few; between that portion of it which is taken up by what I may call the negro problem and that portion which is free from it. Then will all these sections be represented in National Council by men imbued with the sentiment and worthy to stand in the shoes of Henry Clay, of John J. Crittenden, of John Bell, of Thomas Benton, a patriot, though he were a Democrat and a Union man; of Henry Winter Davis, and of that great galaxy of Presidents who have made the fame of Virginia forever secure. Then the North and the Northern States can safely indulge in those spasms of local discontent, without putting in peril our National interests through the free coinage of silver (laughter), or any other delusion or crazes into which the Democratic party and other people may for a time go off. (Laughter and applause.)

Then, at last, the Republican party will have discharged that great duty which it took up when the Whig party laid it down, and will maintain its place forever in this Nation as the party of patriotism, and the one with which the serious interests of this Government and this people can ever be entrusted. (Great applause.)

Whatever may be the course of the Republicans of the North, Mr. Chairman, on this subject to which you have asked me to respond, there can be no question whatever as to the attitude of the Republicans at the South. They have entrusted to their hands and to their keeping in their respective communities, every principle which is dear to American liberty and dear to the American people, and they will stand firm by it, and they will do it without repining. They do not forget that this problem was not of their choosing; that they did not enfranchise the negroes; that that was put upon them by the act and the wise act of this Nation, for national reasons and for national purposes. The task that is imposed, however, upon them, they have loyally accepted, and they are meeting, with what bravery within them lies, problems than which none more difficult were ever submitted for the solution of a free people; that in this they have had to withstand every prejudice and every device which wickedness could invent, going to the extent of social ostracism, of obloquy and even of death. They meet it all. They look over the border and they see men prominent and active in the creation of this problem and of the laws out of which it grew turning their backs upon them now with the cool assurance of the Pharisee. (Laughter and applause). They see one newspaper in this metropolis turning its batteries upon them with wicked malignity, that was founded in part upon money piously contributed in aid of the freedmen. (Laughter and applause). And another conducted by one who earned a noble fame in the anti-slavery cause and in the earlier days of the Republican struggle. They find such influences narcotising the National conscience of the North, and hand in hand with those of the South, were determined to impose upon that section and that people, government by force and a government by fraud instead of a government by consent. (Great applause.)

They see Kansas, that child of the Republic, turning aside from the influences in which it was born, and, upon economic delusions, going back on its ancient faith and worshipping false gods. (Applause.)

I say to you, Mr. Chairman, and for the Republicans of the South to the Republicans of the North, in this faith you may waver, but we will not. (Applause.) We cannot. It is our freedom that

is at stake. It is our Government, in language fitting to be recalled again and again, and again this night. It is our government of the people, and by the people, and for the people that is at stake, and, girding up our loins with whatever of courage that we have inherited from our ancestors,—not unknown to history and to fame—that we go on with this struggle that we believe will end in creating institutions in the South homogeneous with those in the North, and resting upon consent, and not force.

(Great applause, and three cheers and a tiger for the loyal Republicans of the South.

The Chairman then read the fifth toast: “The Young Men of the Country”—they rightfully belong to the Republican Party.

“There’s a word to be spoken, a deed to be done,
A truth to be utter’d, a cause to be won;
Come forth in your myriads! come forth, every one!”

I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. John M. Thurston, who will respond to this toast.





SPEECH OF HON. JOHN M. THURSTON.

MR. THURSTON then said:

Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen:

I noticed a member of your club, a few minutes since, looking at his watch. Out in the country where I live, people leave their watches at home when they go to a banquet. (Laughter and applause.) It is not so much because they fear the honesty of their associates, but because the morning sunrise is time enough to go home in the far West. (Laughter.) On account of the delay of the train, I arrived, as the Irisman says, just too late for your feast, but I am glad I was in time for the fun. (Laughter and applause.) I was the victim to-day of the misrepresentation of the time table of the Pennsylvania Railroad. (Laughter.)

Hereafter, I will travel on the New York Central, if I can exchange courtesies with Chauncey Depew. (Laughter and applause.)

The political future of the Republican party depends upon its ability to satisfy the intelligence, to convince the judgment, arouse the enthusiasm, and enlist the active co-operation of the young men of the Nation. (Cries of "Good, good.") To do this, it must have declared and aggressive policies of government, it must maintain and enforce the rights of American citizenship; it must foster and encourage the development of American industries; it must stand first, last and all the time for American patriotism, American prosperity, American progress, and American power as against the world. (Great applause.)

It must remain true to constitutional Union, liberty and equality, and must strive to increase the intelligence, the opportunities, the possibilities and the happiness of the whole body politic. It must have the courage to advocate what is right without regard to political results, and must look beyond the danger of present defeat to the vantage ground of ultimate success. (Applause.)

When Abraham Lincoln, in 1858, faced the American public with that sublime declaration, "A house divided against itself can not stand; I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free"—he knew that that one sentence made it impossible for him to secure the United States Senatorship from Illinois. He may not have known, but it was no less true, that that one sentence made it possible for him to become President of the United States. (Great applause.)

No party can or ought to live which panders to section, to class, to nationality or to faction. No party can or ought to exist which yields to the popular passion or clamor, in order to secure the applause of the mob. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") The great party of National advancement must defy, not deify the passing cyclones of popular error. The Republican party, if need be, can afford to grandly die; it cannot afford to despicably live. (Great applause.) It were better to go down into the bottomless ocean of irretrievable political disaster, with the flag of its unchangeable principles nailed to the mast, following the leadership of some few statesmen, than to sail into the harbor of political safety under the banner of expediency or the command of a demagogue. (Great applause.)

The young men of this country will not be bound by inherited political beliefs. In every other land, of all the earth, the son may be said to inherit the social, political and religious condition of the sire. "The son of a peasant lives and dies a peasant, and the son of a lord lives and dies a lord." But the genius of our civilization is of another kind—in this land of limitless opportunities and possibilities, the son of an American peasant is an American king. On the broad highway of American success the barefoot boy outstrips the golden chariot of ancestral wealth; and the humblest mother in this free land, as she hushes the weak protest of a baby's lips upon her holy breast, knows that her child may live to become the President of the Republic. (Great applause.)

Alarmists may assert that the rich grow richer and the poor poorer, and even the most conservative may justly fear the concentration of enormous riches in the coffers of a few; but the fact remains, nevertheless, that every illustrious American name has been borne by a poor man's son, and the enormous fortunes of the

present day have nearly all been accumulated by those who commenced with nothing. The American boy who enters upon the battle of life in his shirt sleeves is the one who succeeds. The dress coat, the stove-pipe hat, the cigarette and the English walking-stick are not favorable to American development. (Great applause and laughter.)

Every Republican President of the United States has toiled with his hands for daily bread, and the Republican party stands to-day the champion of labor's cause. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") The Democratic party from the hour of its birth insisted that it had a right to buy the product of human labor at its own price, and whenever it had the power, it made the payment with a master's lash. It insists upon the same doctrine to-day. It proclaims that it is the right—the right, mark you—of every American citizen to buy what he wants where he can buy it the cheapest. I deny that doctrine broadly and utterly. It is not the right of any man worthy of American citizenship to buy the product of human labor without paying a fair price for the brain and brawn that enters into its manufacture. (Great applause.) This is the issue between Republicanism and Democracy; is it best for the yeomen of this country to sell their labor dear or buy their goods cheap? On this great issue, who can doubt how the patriotic, generous and intelligent young men will cast their ballots in 1892?

I am not here to abuse the Democratic party. I believe that all great political movements are born of the honest desire of the masses to increase their opportunities and improve their conditions. Between the upper and the nether millstones of contending human thought, truth is separated from pretentious chaff, and it is a blessing to this nation that we have two great political parties almost evenly divided in numerical strength, for it enables a few thoughtful, conscientious, conservative men to turn either party out of power when its administration becomes corrupt, improvident or unwise. But no man should desert his party, or set up individual judgment against the wisdom of the majority, without careful consideration and undoubted cause; for it generally happens, in politics, as in religion, that over-sanctification begets pharisaical gall; and the man who is holier than the tried leaders of his party may be safely classed as a monumental fraud. (Great laughter and applause.)

The history of the Republican party appeals to the patriotism of every young man. It tells of the heroic accomplishment of mighty deeds. It tells of a race enfranchised by bristling bayonets, and a Republic preserved by the blood of the brave. Every constitutional amendment which extends the blessing of human liberty, confirms the justice of a broader humanity and protects the fullest enjoyment of American citizenship, has been written by the pen of Republican statesmanship and ratified by the vote of Republican intelligence. (Great applause.) Every existing statute of the United States designed for the protection of the individual, for the maintenance of our national credit, for the development of our industrial affairs, for the permanency of free institutions, is the result of Republican thought, Republican courage, and Republican action.

The Republican party has contributed to freedom's roll of honor names whose lustre fills the earth. The genesis of American liberty was in the Declaration of Independence, but the gospel of its new testament was written by Abraham Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Magna Charta of man's real freedom and equality was secured by Ulysses S. Grant under the shadow of a Virginia apple tree. (Great applause.)

Every young man who looks upon the flag of his country must feel glad to know that the Republican party kept the stars of Union in the azure of its sky, and he must remember with pride how recently this same party has broken the darkness of Democratic opposition that other brilliant gems of statehood might be added to the splendor of the constellation. (Great applause.)

Every new State adds to the power of the Republican party. No new Western commonwealth can be claimed by the Democracy. Those local and temporary conditions which control the prairie States to-day cannot long continue. The West will be true in the next Presidential election to the party that made it what it is. (Great applause.) Wherever men have spent the best years of their lives in building up a civilization in the wilderness; wherever they have come face to face with those conditions that develop true manhood, that require courage, perseverance and ceaseless industry; wherever they have triumphed in the paths of pioneer life, and have wrung from reluctant nature the secrets of her hidden wealth, you will find that Republicanism grows and thrives where

its principles are in harmony with the true spirit of American progress. (Great applause.)

The Republican party appeals to the courage of every young man, for it is the party of National courage. Youth is the golden time of hope, ambition, chivalry and power. Those on the sunset side of life no longer volunteer to lead armies or reforms. Youth goes singing to the battlefields of liberty; youth carries the musket; youth leads the assault; youth conquers or dies. The world's great battlefields have been won by heroes young in years. Hannibal, at twenty-seven, had crossed the Alps and overthrown the legions of Imperial Rome. Alexander, while scarce the down of manhood pricked his lips, stood in the presence of a conquered world; and the Little Corporal, while but a boy in years, had slashed the map of Europe with his sword and carved an empire from its heart. (Great applause.) But if the boys vote the Republican ticket, they must have Republicanism of the unadulterated kind. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.) If the older statesmanship of the party fears to keep faith with the soul of old John Brown, or fails to stand firm for the protection of manhood and muscle, the young men will desert old-fogyism and rally under the banner of those big, brave American boys, Tom Reed, Bill McKinley, Johnny Foraker, Russell Alger and Jim Blaine. (Great applause.) The boys will insist upon a free ballot and a fair count. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.)

In a government of the people, the rights of citizenship are paramount to all others. The very cornerstone of National existence rests upon the consent of the governed, and free institutions can no longer exist where any man is deprived of his right to vote. (A voice, "Right you are;" great applause.)

Popular government is maintained for the purpose of protecting the weak against the oppression of the strong; of the poor from the exactions of the rich; of the ignorant from the subtleties of the learned, and the man of all others who most needs the elective franchise and the American flag, is the humblest and the poorest and the weakest citizen of them all. (Great applause.)

The Republican party was returned to power in 1888 on the faith of its solemn promise that it would enact the necessary legislation to ensure every American citizen in his political equality; and the wisdom of the Republican majority in Congress has pre-

pared an act intended as a fulfillment of that promise. This act is not sectional or partisan in its character. I defy any man to show me where it is so. It does not pretend to interfere with State or local elections. It cannot honestly be opposed by any man who wishes that the majority's will should be expressed at the polls. (Applause.) I would be the last man to stand in the way of that perfect reconciliation between North and South, so necessary for the continued prosperity and glory of our common country; but when any man in any State is prevented from voting for a Presidential candidate, every man of every other State is robbed in some measure of his just political power. (Great applause.) When a man from the State of South Carolina stands on the floor of Congress opposing legislation necessary for the people of my State, I have a right to say to him that he shall stand there with an honest certificate of election. (Great applause.) When any man stands on the floor of Congress blocking with his single objection the business of the country, the American people have a right to say to him that he shall stand there with a title on which there is no stain of wronged citizenship and no drop of human blood. (Great applause.) I do not know that this proposed legislation is the best that could have been designed. I do not know that it is free from all measure of objection, but I do know that it represents the best intelligence of that majority in Congress, secured on the faith of the platform of 1888. The Democratic party sneeringly allude to this act as the Force Bill, as if that were a term of derision and reproach. What is the Government, but the highest protective force. What virtue in a constitution or sanction in a law, unless obedience to its provisions can be enforced? What makes the flag of our country, on land and sea, at home and abroad, the insignia of American glory and the safeguard of American honor, but the memory of a million bayonets that confirmed it as the flag of a Nation? (Great applause.)

The Government which has not the power, or having it, will not enforce it to protect a citizen, is unworthy of continual existence, and God's justice will not long permit it to cumber the earth. Yes, let this act be called the Force Bill, if Democracy pleases. We accept the name with joy. It is a force bill, for it represents the irresistible force of the American conscience. (Great applause.) When has any battle for liberty and justice

ever been won except by force? Force compelled the signature of unwilling royalty to the great Magna Charta. Force framed the Declaration of Independence and dictated the Emancipation Proclamation. Force sang with impatient lips the Marsellaise, Yankee Doodle and Glory Hallelujah. (Great applause) Force picked with naked hands between the iron gates of the Bastile, and made expiation in one awful hour for a century of oppression. Force waved the flag of revolution, and marked the snows of Valley Forge with blood-stained feet. Force held the broken line at Shiloh and climbed the flame-swept hill at Chattanooga, and stormed the batteries on Lookout Mountain. (Great applause.) Force upheld the withered arm of Barbara Fritchie at Fredericktown, and looked on the sight of John Burn's rifle at Gettysburg. Force marched with Sherman to the sea, and rode with Sheridan in the valley of the Shenandoah, and stood with Grant for victory at Appomattox. (Great applause.) Force found a slave; it set him free. It found a negro; it made him a man. He cowered in the ranks of servitude; force robed him in the panoply of citizenship. He was helpless and defenseless; force put into his poor, black hand the true weapon of the nineteenth century, and this resistless force of the American conscience will go with him under the powers of the stars and stripes, and see that he casts his vote in safety and has it counted as it is cast. (Great applause.)

There are those who say that such legislation is inexpedient, and statesmen have directed the pathway of human rights with a silver dollar. I differ from most of you, and we are all at liberty to differ within the Republican ranks in season and out of season. I have been an ardent advocate of the double standard and free coinage. I believe the goddess of our currency should have a golden crown upon her head and silver sandals on her feet. (Laughter and applause.) But when the Senate of the United States takes up the money and abandons the man, the young men of this country will revolt. They will not be satisfied with what seems expedient. They must have what is right. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.) They will vote the Republican ticket, but it must be the Republicanism of Oliver P. Morton, old Zach. Chandler, Roscoe Conkling and John A. Logan. (Great applause.) We need a revival of it now. (Cries of "We do.")

Would that the American platform might know another Wendell Phillips, and the American Congress another Lovejoy.

The boys will stay with the grand old Republican party for protection, but it must be a protection broad enough to secure every American man in his right to live, to labor and to vote. (Great applause.)

There is no business interest so great; there is no manufacturing industry so necessary; there is no money power so important that it must be fostered at the expense of American citizenship. (Great applause.) If patriotism is so dead that the trade and commerce of New York City cannot be maintained, or the Columbian Exposition at Chicago be made a success, without giving up the "Nigger" to the Ku-Klux and the shotgun, then let us turn the pictured face of Lincoln to the wall and cast the sword of Grant into the sea. (Great applause.)

Thank God, my country has not reached such degradation yet. The Republican party still bears aloft the unconquered flag of a nation's honor and a people's hope.

Under it the boys will rally for the next campaign. Under it the loyal legion will go marching on. Under it the American citizen and the American home will both share in the blessings of American protection. (Great applause.)

The Chairman then read the sixth toast: "The American Scholar—knowledge of the methods of party management, and a capacity for party administration, essential to his usefulness as a citizen."

I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. Henry C. Robinson, who will respond to this toast. (Great applause.)





SPEECH OF HON. H. C. ROBINSON.

It is always a delight to hail from our little Commonwealth, but especially so just now, when we are fairly embarrassed with our riches in governors. Indeed, we can boast of more governors to the acre than any other territory on the planet. It is said that when the falling rain drops analyze the sunbeams which stream through them and paint the elements of light in prismatic beauty on the sky, each man who looks up in admiration sees his own rainbow. And so we have been able to look up to the Capitol and to bow each citizen in loyalty to his own governor. Don't understand me to say that either of the worthy gentlemen who appropriates more or less of that honorable title has been a rainbow governor, or that any party has been a rainbow chaser. Well, if we have for the occasion borrowed the methods of some of our neighbors who are nearer the equator, and of others who are nearer to the setting sun, it has not been an experience wholly of evil. It will work no harm to the freemen of Connecticut to look back along the lines; and a few hours', or days', or weeks' study of the State's Constitution and her constitutional history will make a revelation to many of what is the proudest record of constitutional law in the annals of human life. Connecticut's first constitution, made in 1639, was the earliest written organic law of democracy, and its voice was "heard round the world," and its echoes have reached all the regions of western civilization, and will never be still until the last freeman dies.

The territorial lines, which follow courses and distances, and separate states upon atlases, dissolve in the gathering of the representatives of a great political party, whose communion is from ocean to ocean. They melt in presence of the holy memory which fills the heart of the Republic on this anniversary. Shout we never so loudly of the mortality of men and of the eternity of principles, we may not forget that principles are never wholly real to us until they become incarnate. One such personality as his whom we

honor to-night, exhibiting in human character the fundamental ideas of a patriotic party, and still more comprehensively the broadest inspirations of the Nation itself, is worth a ream of platforms and statements. (Applause.)

You have assigned to me a sentiment which, if I correctly interpret its drift, without dwelling too closely upon its phrase, asserts that a scholar should be an investigating and fairly active member of a political party.

To dissent from this proposition we must either rule out parties as an unwholesome element in political life, or we must admit that they are too narrow to include all classes of citizens. In a democracy, parties are a necessity. The theory that men will ever think alike in applying general political principles to current problems is as offensive to human nature as a theory that men will look alike because they all breathe the same air, sleep under the same stars, and eat the common products of the soil. We may divide into two great parties, or we may divide into groups, but divide we must, and the large party system is preferable to the group system.

And these parties should include all citizens. A party which is too narrow to include all men who can with reasonable intelligence support the Constitution is too small to be a good one. Not that all men are called to leadership, or even to practical administration. Natural temperament and environments of many kinds may forbid it. Not that any man is for a moment to be morally or intellectually blind in his party allegiance. Reverence is strength, but idolatry is weakness. Enthusiasm is noble, but the partition which divides it from frenzy is thin; it is the wall between "wit and madness." An edict of a caucus is a poor excuse for the surrender of manhood, and the recording angel's tears will not blot out the sin for party's sake, of dishonor to a freeman's oath. That party practice which forthwith excommunicates every sincere questioner and honest doubter signifies neither progress nor victory. Let us not forget that the best discoveries have usually come to individuals and not to conventions, and that honest dissent has been the driving wheel of the world's advance.

Let me now make one or two suggestions—these precious minutes will allow no more—as to the true relation of the scholar to politics. And first, if our parties should be broad, so should our

scholarship be which enters them. Fortunately we live in days when the horizons are no longer petty. We have learned that no three tailors make a London. Thanks for this to many things in our civilization, notably to the press, the control and use of steam and electricity, and the diffusion of the great principles of the common law, and the elemental truths of religion—the wheat of religion, I mean, sifted out from the bundles of chaff in which it has been for so many centuries hidden—I will not say lost, for real religion cannot be lost as long as man is a child of God. To-day our lines of latitude encompass a globe. Columbus felt the need of a West to balance the East. Philosophy is beginning to realize that man is and has been made of one blood. The specialist has learned to generalize, the student to compare. The geologist admits chemistry, natural philosophy and astronomy to the field of his survey. The oculist reaches the eye by constitutional treatment. I urge then that scholarship in politics must be broad, and must cultivate in itself more than a single idea. (Applause.)

And again, when scholarship visits us in politics it should be honest. It should demand first of all the absolute supremacy of truth, the elimination of bigotry, prejudice and sham. It is easy to see the immense influence of what are called the real sciences in this regard, as they have marched into the front of the world's thought.

Investigation is reaching for facts. Philosophy is honored by revising its theses and dogmas and creeds. In dealing with errors and sophistries and shams, truth is severe. Indeed, what is severity? It is truth itself, *se veritas*. But the true and the good and the beautiful are never hostile forces. They are bound by reciprocity in peace and by alliance in war. Their foes are common enemies, unrealities, falsehood, sham, humbug. Think for a moment of the chastening which practical science has administered to public speech. The talk of to-day is direct, simple; it may be beautiful, but it must not be stilted nor pedantic. Bloated rhetoric has been purged out of oratory, and quotations brought in from burrs in the ancestral chestnut grove are infrequent. A half century ago the greatest of our orators, Mr. Webster, was called to criticise, before its delivery, a presidential inaugural. Meeting a friend the next day he was saluted with "What's the matter, Mr. Webster? you look very tired." "Tired! I think one should

look tired who has spent the night in killing eighteen Roman pro-consuls and twenty-five generals." (Laughter and applause.)

And while scholarship should come into politics holding the past in honor and critical of innovation, yet it should come in all willingness to accept facts. It must never forget that the child grows. It must learn that while history often repeats itself, it often makes new departures. And of no nation can it be said with equal force as it can of ours, that we are making history. We have already disappointed the fears of our friends and the hopes of our enemies in the wreck of a dozen military maxims and of a hundred political proverbs.

But I must only touch this line of thought which opens too widely. Let us pass on, and say, that the manners of scholarship should be courteous. We want no approaches to the elective franchise with supercilious front, and held nose, and gloved hand, dropping a ballot in daintiness. We want scholars to come to the polls as members of the brotherhood. True scholarship has no scorn of manner, for it has no haughtiness of heart. It has no snarls, for it has no cynicism; nor sneers, for it has no conceit. When it puts on pedantries, they are as funny, if not as picturesque, as the blue jeans and sockless ankles of its counterpart at the other end of the line. (Applause.)

The great truth-seer of Concord has said that "the scholar must embrace solitude as a bride." Far be it from me to question this eminent authority. But I would turn the shield around from its silver to its golden side and say: If scholarship must embrace solitude as a bride, at least let the honeymoon be short, and then let scholarship come out of its chamber and meet society as the member of its own family, its brothers and sisters and father and mother.

And once more, while it is our place as practical men to welcome the wisdom of scholarship as it brings us the treasures of learning and the gifts of the past, as it teaches us reverence and modesty, let us be permitted to remind our teachers that scholarship is only great as it adds to the greatness of manhood. Man is greater than learning or letters or science. They are only for him. The German professor who had given his life to the Greek substantive, regretted on his deathbed that he had not confined himself to the dative case. There may be, there is, a place in life for

such scholarship, but the place is not a large one. We want scholarship to be a living power in living humanity. We demand of political economy that it shall enlarge its scope and include in its literature and lectures something besides the doctrine of wealth; to learn that human labor is more than a commodity; that the right of individuals to property is only a lien junior and every way inferior to the underlying lien of public welfare; that love of home and love of country, and the protection of home industries and national resources, are supreme elements to control the results of all economic problems.

But after all, it is the highest glory of human nature that its greatest things may be attained by all—the scholar and the granger, the constitutional lawyer and the blacksmith. When Ulysses S. Grant refused Lee's sword, he was greater than when he broke its power. When Abraham Lincoln reached the climax of his greatness as an orator, he pointed to the graves at Gettysburgh and said:

“The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.”

The deeds he honored were within the reach of the humblest. Indeed, their very names, whom Lincoln honored, are already lost excepting to the scholar. So we can neither name nor count its individual waves as we lose ourselves in love and admiration at the majesty of the ocean. These subtle sentiments of patriotism and self-sacrifice and love, which cannot be found in the crucible of the chemist, nor spied by the telescope of the astronomer, nor reported in the statistics of the political economist, are the common outfit of humanity. Beside these dignities of our common human nature, its culture and accomplishments are but tinkling cymbals, and beside their eternity the duration of material things, even of the hills and the stars, is but a day. (Prolonged applause.)

The Chairman then read the seventh toast:

“The Dakotas, Washington, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming—The Flag's new Stars.”

“Those other stars have now joined the American Constellation; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light.”

“ Our country! ’tis a glorious land!
With broad arms stretched from shore to shore;
The proud Pacific chafes her strand,
She hears the dark Atlantic roar.”

I have the pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. Wilbur F. Sanders, Senator from Montana, who will respond to this toast.
(Great applause.)





SPEECH OF HON. W. F. SANDERS.

MR. SANDERS then said:

Mr. Chairman and fellow members of the Republican Club :

It is among the felicities of my life that I count myself as one of your membership. It is another felicity, and a foolish fancy of mine, that when I come into this City of New York, I think I recognize the breezes that fanned my childhood's brow. If these felicities did not make me feel at home, the enthusiasm with which you have greeted the utterances of these orators who have preceded me, the abiding faith you have manifested in Republican principles, the affectionate regard in which you have held the memory of Abraham Lincoln, would indeed make me feel that the ground you trod upon was holy. (Applause.)

It is something more than courage that is required at this hour to occupy your time; something of audacity indeed, at this hour in the morning, after all that has been so well said, to delay you for a single moment in response to the toast which has been read by your President, and which greets the new States that have recently been added to this magnificent constellation. (Applause.)

I pray you to believe that we comprehend the high companionship on which we have entered. I pray you to believe that we have highly resolved to strengthen in all their forces the moral and economical interests of the United States of America. (Great applause.)

I pray you to think that while we shall patiently hear all complaints; while we shall listen to every class and every being that thinks he is wronged, we shall bring every theory to examination in the light of day and determine it according to the high reason that is given to us to use. (Applause.)

I think, sometimes, we are unduly frightened at the seeming differences that divide us. I notice a time of disintegration; I notice a hopeless difference in arriving at the ultimate truth, so long as

it is sought to be evolved behind locked doors in lodges, and is not brought out to the light of day; but it is perfectly certain that all such efforts for the amelioration of the human race must fail. It is perfectly certain that the hardy American citizen will require that every process that is proposed for the benefit of mankind, shall be brought out and examined upon all its sides.

I cannot delay you at this hour to recite the processes by which the Republican party have ripened these six great States that your toast so cordially welcomes here to-night. Suffice it to say that they are Republican born. (Cries of "Good, good," and great applause.) Suffice it to say that because of the Republican party west of the Mississippi, you have written the statliest epic of all time. Your homestead law has made the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose. (Great applause.) It has builded cities and railroads; it has opened mines; it has spread out farms, and has realized the dream of Chancellor Livingston, when he signed that treaty by which Louisiana became an integral part of the United States of America. (Great applause.)

I have listened with solicitude to these various speeches that have been made touching the political aberrations of the time, and I could not but feel, when my friend the Hon. Senator from Delaware, turning in seeming despair of some federal protection of a federal right, took upon the people of the South the burden of protecting the elective franchise, that it was fitting and proper to say in his presence and to him and to those whom he represents, that the people of the United States will not consent that that burden shall be borne exclusively by those States. (Great applause, and cries of "Bravo.")

Nay, I go farther than that, and rejoice with an exceeding joy, that we cannot put upon them this duty if we desired? We cannot shirk the responsibilities of this occasion, for it is inherent in every form of vice as it is in every form of virtue, that it must be aggressive. There is no such thing as a repose for right or a repose for wrong. (Applause.)

Does anybody suppose, now that it has been perhaps determined, that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be torn in tatters, shall be trodden under the feet of the late enemies of our country, shall be a mere story at the end of your written organic law, and not a fact in your his-

tory; I say, does anybody suppose that those who have thus defied the National authority and power, can stop there? Not at all. Appealing to those who are primarily concerned for prudence of action, I know that embodied in the literature of the time are the great lessons which forty centuries have written, and which are as immutable and changeless as the laws of the Almighty. It still remains that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. (Great applause.) It still remains that who would be free, himself must strike the blow. (Applause.) And it is perfectly certain that in no State in these United States will a majority of the people, upon whom the Constitution has cast not merely the privilege, but the duty of the elective franchise, discontinue the exercise of that great right and the performance of that great duty. (Great applause.) Let us say to them, be patient. If we should abdicate the functions that appertain to civilized States, if we should say that we will not pass laws to enforce the rights which the Constitution secures; if we should say, we will pusillanimously and supinely fold our hands and see you trodden under foot, you may rest assured that a remedy swift and terrible would ultimately be found by those who, treasuring up this wrong, would finally find themselves adequate to its vindication. (Great applause.)

We are impelled by every obligation of honor, by every impulse of patriotism; nay, by every impulse of gratitude as well, to insist that there shall be embodied in the federal law such an observation of the election of members of Congress as that every man upon whom we have cast the duty of electing them, has a voice in the ultimate determination of that election. (Great applause.)

Does anybody fancy that an army would march from New York to crush out a people who had simply banded together to secure a right which the Constitution of the United States had granted to them, and a minority of their neighbors had robbed them of? But you may rest assured that if we do abandon them, that will be the ultimate requirement.

Now, I have been proud of the spirit that has been manifested here to-night in the face of the political disaster that occurred last fall. I attribute that disaster to the disgust of the American people, that having through many years affirmed their purpose to protect and defend the right of the humblest citizen of the land, to see that his privilege and duty of voting was made

secure, and that his ballot was counted as he had cast it, it was not instantly, upon the assembling of representatives elected for that purpose, woven into a statute upon the Federal statute books, adequate to the end in view. (Great applause.) I could speak for the Republican party and say, that I believe, if they felt that every interest of liberty, every interest of civilization, every economic right and privilege and opportunity was as wisely and as well protected by the advancing of their political opponents to power, they would cheerfully hand every office in the Government over to them to be executed. I do not believe that these men, who go up and down this land and say that the Republican party is actuated by a desire for power, by the love of spoils, in any manner or in any form actually represent the true impulse of that great and patriotic combination. It is because we know that the Democratic party is not a political party; that it is a gathering together of the diseased elements of all parties without coherence, without patriotic impulse, without a unity of anything except action, that we believe that the interests of the Government of the United States will be best promoted by keeping it in the hands of a political party that has shown itself competent to deal with all the great questions submitted for the determination of the citizens of the United States. (Great applause.)

Now, I know people are going up and down the land and are telling us that if we shall secure to the humble citizens of Mississippi, who have been studiously, adroitly and dishonorably disfranchised, their inalienable right to vote, a right that they earned by carrying the musket in the war of the Rebellion; a right that they have earned by fidelity to every humble and homely duty; a right that appertains to a majority of the people of every community—I say we are told that if we shall secure to them that right, we shall disturb the prosperity of the land. And in vindication of the fact that there is no repose for wrong, up and down this land, with an activity never before manifested since 1860, the disciples of the suppression of the ballot are more busy to-day than they were last week, and more busy last week than they were last month in undertaking to stupify the American conscience and reconcile it to the establishment of an oligarchy in four or five of the States of the American Union.

It does not become me to speak of the processes by which this great purpose of the American people, expressed through many years of reflection, examination and resolution, has been thus far brought to naught. I only say that if it is necessary for that purpose, we shall reorganize the forces of the Republican party—I only say I know that there is enough of morality and enough of intelligence and enough of intellect in the Republican party to refuse to abandon its chief corner stone. It was born of a desire to secure rights to the lowly and the humble. It recited in the days of its infancy that stern command out of that Old Book and high authority: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my children, ye have done it unto Me." (Applause.)

I will not consent to delay you more. I am mindful of the fact that there is a vague idea along the Atlantic coast that the citizens of these six States in whose behalf I have been asked to speak, are gifted in speech and that their rhetoric is somewhat lurid and pyrotechnic. (Laughter.) I pray you to disabuse your mind of such an idea. Ours has been a supreme struggle to be. We trust to have reached that point where now we shall have something to spare for the struggle to do. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.) And we challenge you to a march in this great highway allotted to us each and all, a highway where public and private morality, intellectual excellence, industry and economy, in the building up of these great States that constitute the United States of America, shall be the supreme struggle from the St. Croix to San Diego, and from the Flattery Rocks to the Florida Keys, and we shall count it a fortunate thing if we shall so commend ourselves to your sober judgment as that you will be glad that you have added these six stars to your immortal constellation. (Cries of "Good, good," and great applause.)

I find extant in certain portions of the United States economic heresies that pain the heart of every sober citizen. It is deliberately proposed by careful and sober-minded men, as sober as such minds can well be (laughter) to put the printing presses of the country into competition with the mines of gold and silver, and to turn out for the delectation and satisfaction of all our people money on paper, stamped with the stamp of the Government, and I suppose distributed to those who have it not. Whenever that shall be woven into the forms of law, we will sound a bugle call

to our miners to come up from those uncomfortable depths where to-night they are lying, to dig out the gold and silver that is to be the basis of our money hereafter, as it has been through the years that are past. (Applause.) And it seems to me that he is blind who does not recognize in that heresy a threat of danger, the question as to whether we shall coin silver into money or no. There seems to be in some portions of our country extant an idea that there is no such thing as value to money; that it is simply necessary that we shall stamp upon paper the faith of the Government, and make it a legal tender for the the payment of debts, and thenceforth it has all the functions, and can perform all the offices of a currency in this land. I say to every man, to stand against this form of fiat money or any other form whatever. (Applause.)

I know full well that that million and a quarter of citizens, for whom I am invited to speak, occupying the region of country that would make eleven States of the size of New York and leave enough territory for eleven more of the size of Rhode Island—(laughter and applause)—if they could have been permitted to select some person fitting to speak for them, would be glad that many things*should be said on an occasion like this, in a presence so august; but for them, I must content myself with the somewhat haughty modesty of Themistocles, who when he was asked to touch the lyre said, "I cannot play the fiddle, but I know how to make out of a small village a very great city." (Laughter.) I pray you to believe that this people that have gone out from among you, the advance guard of this great and ever-westward-going army, that from New England and New York, and from all along these coasts and from other lands, and from the islands of the sea have builded up the states west of the Mississippi River—are your kith and kin. (Applause.)

It is not their land that they inhabit more than it is yours. Their institutions are modeled after and founded upon yours. They are striving by all the processes which surround them, though under circumstances of some discouragement, to make those communities a coherent and a creditable portion of this great Republic of ours. They therefore turn with abiding confidence and pride to you, you who have given shape and direction to Republican principles, and ask of you your sympathy and your support. (Applause.)

With you they believe in Democratic governments; with you they believe in conservative political action. With you they believe that there should be thrown around every American citizen a panoply that should secure him against every form of oppression, and then, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, more than once quoted here to-night, they will resolve that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth, nor from any part of the earth. (Great applause.)

They rejoice to join in this great Republican anthem, the noblest song that the ages have sung, the majestic strains, whose rising and falling cadences have delighted human ears, and filled heaven's wide concave with the sad sweet music of humanity, a celestial threnody that finds its best expression in Republican aspiration and achievement and purpose, but that traces its genesis to creation's dawn, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. (Great applause and three cheers.)

The last toast was then read by the President: "November 4, 1890."

"Sweet are the uses of adversity
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

The Chairman—If there is one among us who can extract the jewel from the head of that toad, you will all agree with me that our friend Bartlett is the man. (Laughter and applause.)





SPEECH OF EDWARD T. BARTLETT,
EX-PRESIDENT REPUBLICAN CLUB.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

A former guest of the Club at this board, a brilliant young Congressman from the West, is reported to have said, in a speech delivered several years since, that when the State of Iowa should go Democratic, Hell would be Methodist. (Laughter.)

Well, the whirling of Time since this utterance has made a number of complete revolutions, so to speak, and Iowa has gone Democratic!

I am unable to inform you whether the particular Democratic territory alleged to have a tendency toward Methodism has submitted to the teachings and principles of John Wesley, but I fear such is not the case, for the very good reason that there are not Republicans enough in that tropical abode to secure reform of any kind in the face of the solid, permanent and ever increasing Democratic majority that confronts them. (Applause.)

I have referred to this political revolution in Iowa, and the alleged moral revolution in—well, the other place—to recall to your minds the fact that the Democratic tiger is abroad in the land, and with his mugwump, hayseed, free silver, cheap money contingent is pursuing a course of devastation and conquest that has, as yet, only just begun, if we may believe certain newspapers, who fell from grace as Republicans years ago, and now sustain more intimate relations with the aforesaid tiger than even Democrats in good and regular standing, and are present and participating in all of his blood-curdling orgies. (Laughter.)

While I am bound to controvert this prophecy of the continuing conquest of Democracy, I am forced to admit in the privacy and confidence of this occasion—in this place where the reporter cometh not—that on the fourth day of last November something was heard to drop with a dull and sickening thud, by ears Republican, and it was several days before many of the rank and file recovered consciousness. (Cries of "Good!")

Some thought it was the magazine that had gotten mad and gone off.

Others suggested the earthquake or cyclone theory—or possibly collision with a comet.

While the legal lights insisted it was the act of God or the public enemy, with very strong leanings toward the latter theory.

I confess it looks very much as if the public enemy had triumphed when we contemplate the political, financial and economic schemes under discussion at the present time by a coalition that might well be styled “The Greatest Political Show on Earth,” made up of the rag-tag and bobtail of the entire country.

Of course, any attempt on the part of Republicans to explain the situation by stating it was rather an unusual year of combinations and circumstances would be received with shouts of laughter in the ranks of the opposition—and this, notwithstanding that Democratic South Carolina and Republican Kansas are alike suffering from political “la grippe” that has swept over the land like its physical predecessor of last year.

And also, notwithstanding the further fact that sundry Republicans in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin selected what they deemed an off year in which to wipe out old scores and settle some purely local issues.

Surely no Democrat in his wildest moment of exaltation would claim that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, with its eighty thousand majority for James G. Blaine in 1884, was carried against the Republican ticket last autumn without the aid of Republican votes.

We might also allude in passing to the apathy existing in the country districts of our own State, and point out the great Tammany victory in this city that is always insured by the fusion of Republicans with anti-Tammany, which invariably leads to the deliberate slaughter of all the Republican candidates on the ticket—the disgust of thirty thousand registered voters to the extent of keeping them away from the polls—the loss of the few city assemblymen we should elect—and the ruin of party discipline and healthy growth. (Cries of “That is so.”)

This year in addition we offered up a United States Senator on the altar of this political delusion.

We might also, I suppose, refer to a tariff bill that creates a larger free list than was ever before known in the history of the country, and does more for the poor now than any legislation since the foundation of the Government—and yet this measure was made the object of the grossest and most shameless misrepresentations, so that thousands of articles throughout the country, in no way affected by the bill, were deliberately and wilfully sold to the poor and the needy at exorbitant prices as a part of a gigantic conspiracy to stab a great party in the back that could not be fairly beaten in the open field.

But what good would be accomplished if we brought up all existing reasons from the grave of last November, where they sleep?

It could not change the fact, and it would tend to diminish the delirious joy that now makes many Democrats objects of interesting psychological study.

Why curtail the rejoicings of a party that has seen so little success in National politics for a generation, that a small amount of it produces the same effect upon an average Democrat that the Messiah craze and ghost dance do upon a Sioux buck? (Applause.)

Nothing satisfies either but large quantities of red paint, the war path, indiscriminate slaughter, gore, and a sound thrashing in the not very distant future. ("We will give them that!")

But, Mr. President and Gentlemen, this subject has its serious side for our contemplation.

It is no uncommon thing for an Administration to be unsuccessful in the mid-year of its power.

Indeed, this has been the common experience for the past forty years or more.

There was, however, a combination of circumstances which led to the late defeat that presents questions I cannot discuss in the brief time allotted me, which must convince every Republican that the time has arrived when the party organization in all the States must be brought up to the highest degree of efficiency—when all differences of opinion within the party should be arranged and laid to rest—when apathy must give way to unsleeping vigilance—and when all along the line we must present an unbroken front to the enemy.

The great consummation that every Republican should earnestly desire, in season and out of season, is the unification of the party along the lines of its past history and brilliant promise.

What we most need is a baptism of that early spirit of the party that lifted its contests into the realms of high principles and consecrated effort regardless of consequences.

Said Cassius M. Clay, in the old Broadway Tabernacle, in 1856, when the October elections had started the resistless tide against us that ultimately carried James Buchanan into the White House:

“The principles of the Republican party which I stand here to-night to vindicate have received no impetus from success; so defeat cannot weaken their power.”

That is the spirit I now covet for the party!

It is indeed true that since 1856 many of its principles have received every possible impetus from success—have become crystallized in the amendments of the Constitution and the statutes—but there are others for which we must yet do battle to secure the continued supremacy of that great party whose history is the history of the country for the past generation. (Applause.)

The Republican party was never a time-server.

Its leaders have not been wont to weigh and consider what would be the effect of duty discharged.

The unwritten war-cry of the party is, and always has been—Do right and take the consequences.

It is a subject for sincere congratulation that the very latest record of the party is of a character to excite our unqualified admiration and cause us to rejoice that the party of Lincoln and Seward, of Sumner and Chase, of Grant and Garfield is to-day, as it has always been since it sprang into existence at Freedom's call, the champion of justice and equality, the guardian of the Constitution, the defender of the weak and the oppressed.

It has boldly declared a policy on vital questions, and if it be true (which I deny) that it led to the late defeat, then, I say, in such a cause defeat is glorious. The party hearse is better than party disgrace. (Applause.)

What are these vital questions?

The Republican party insists that the majority is chargeable with, and must assume the responsibilities of, legislation; that the minority is entitled to a fair, honest, full debate on all pending

questions, but when that right is abused and used to obstruct the public business, then some form of the previous question or of closure must be invoked in order that the majority may proceed in the discharge of its duty to the country. (Cries of "Good.")

The Republican party insists that representatives are elected to Congress to vote for or against all measures of public importance, and that they cannot sit in their places and be treated as absent because they refuse to vote. (A voice: "Not much!")

Both of these positions have rendered it possible for the House of Representatives to seasonably pass the great measures the party demanded, and I am confident I voice the sentiment of a large majority of our party when I say that the United States Senate has carried the freedom of debate to the extreme verge of safety, nay, even beyond it, and brought upon the country unnecessary political disaster and commercial distrust.

This policy gave us a tariff bill in October on the eve of election and wrecked the Federal Election bill in the house of its friends.

These are some of the bitter fruits of unlimited and obstructive debate.

The Republican party also insists that there shall be an honest representation on the floor of the American Congress—a free vote and a fair count at Federal elections in every section of the Republic. (Applause.)

The Federal Election bill was this and nothing more, and no intelligent, honest man ought to have objected to it.

The cry that it was a "Force Bill" was insincere and without foundation in fact.

No Democratic paper ever printed the bill or an honest synopsis of it. (A voice: "They did not dare!")

It affords me great pleasure in this connection to recall the fact that ex-President Cleveland at the Jackson Dinner in Philadelphia last month, in responding to the toast of "True Democracy," stated that its principles are not uncertain nor doubtful.

Among a number of these principles he named, "equal and exact justice to all men," "the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor," and "a jealous care of the right of election by the people."

I judge from this declaration of principles that either the Democratic party has met with an entire change of heart and is

to be our trusty ally in the future in meeting out equal and exact justice in those five States where the suffrage is practically dead—or else our distinguished friend, the ex-President, was a little confused and really named the principles of “True Republicanism.”

Let us, however, indulge the hope that in the near future we shall behold Democrats tumbling over each other, as it were, in their great anxiety to do equal and exact justice to all men, to preserve the General Government in its constitutional vigor, to exercise a jealous care of the right of election by the people.

If they do this, a great impetus will be imparted to Methodism in their remote territory already alluded to. (Laughter.)

The Republican party also insists that the American markets shall be preserved for American labor, and the wage-earner shall not be compelled to compete with wages two-thirds less than his own.

It insists that while silver shall be utilized under a bi-metallic system, it cannot endorse a measure of free coinage that will inevitably lead to the hoarding of gold, ultimately to its demonetization, and a debased and contracted currency.

And lastly, it insists that the General Government shall care “for the soldier of the Republic, his widow and his orphan.”

If the criticism be true (which I do not admit), that the pension policy of the Republican party is too liberal, we would prefer to rest under that charge, than attempt to defend the record of a party that has opposed every pension bill before Congress since the surrender at Appomattox. (Cheers.)

So stands the party record to-day!

As we consider its past achievements that make up the brightest pages of our National history in war, in reconstruction, in finance, in every phase of policy that has contributed to our prosperity and greatness; when we recall its unvarying adherence to progress and to right; when we contemplate its latest recorded acts in view of the great struggles that lie just before, there is nothing in the judgment by default taken against us on the fourth day of last November that should cast a shadow over this feast.

Belshazzars do not sit at Republican boards! !

We will move in the great court of public opinion where the people preside to open that default, and we will trust to time and truth to set right all misstatements and deceptions.

If gathered here as a working Republican club—a part of that mighty host already marshalling for the struggles of '91 and '92, we take properly to heart the salutary lessons the fourth day of last November should teach us, then indeed we will have secured the precious jewel from the reptile's head—then we may exclaim, “Sweet are the uses of adversity,” and then “Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety.” (Three cheers for Bartlett and continued applause.)





LETTERS OF REGRET.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 3d, 1891.

GENTLEMEN:—Any occasion which is intended to do honor to the memory of our great War President possesses for me, as it does for all of our countrymen, the greatest interest, and the dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, to which you have so kindly invited me, is most attractive in that sense, as well as for the opportunity it affords for meeting old friends in my own city. It is therefore with much more than ordinary regret that I am obliged to forego the pleasure of accepting by the demands of my official duties, which will not permit my absence from Washington on the date arranged. Will you kindly convey to the members of the Club this expression of my regret, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

LEVI P. MORTON

ARTHUR L. MERRIAM, Esq.,
And others, Committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 10th, 1891.

Mr. Blaine sincerely regrets that he is unable to be present at the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, on Thursday, the 12th instant, at Delmonico's.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 5th, 1891.

The Secretary of the Navy regrets his inability to accept the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to attend its Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, Thursday, February 12th.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, WASHINGTON,
February 11, 1891.

Secretary Proctor regrets that on account of his many personal and official engagements he is unable to accept the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York, to attend their Fifth Annual Dinner, to-morrow evening, at Delmonico's.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, WASHINGTON, February 3, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret that distance and official duty will prevent my accepting the kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York, to attend its Fifth Annual Dinner, on Thursday, the 12th inst., in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Yours truly,

MR. ARTHUR L. MERRIAM,

JOHN W. NOBLE, *Secretary*.

Chairman, etc., etc.,

Republican Club, New York City.

OFFICE OF POSTMASTER-GENERAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 3, 1891.

The Postmaster-General begs to acknowledge receipt of the invitation of the Republican Club of New York to its Fifth Annual Dinner, on the 12th inst., and regrets that his public duties prevent his acceptance.

1330 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 3, 1891.

Mr. Rusk presents his compliments to the members of the Republican Club of the City of New York, and regrets that he will be unable to accept their invitation to be present at the Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Thursday, February 12, 1891, at Delmonico's, 6.30 P. M.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 5, 1891.

Mr. Arthur L. Merriam:

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Reed regrets that public duties will prevent his acceptance of your kind invitation to be present at the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, February 12, at Delmonico's.

Very sincerely,

AMOS L. ALLEN, *Private Secretary*.

To the Committee.

W. G. VEAZEY, Commander-in-Chief:—Compliments and regrets.

NO. 75 WEST SEVENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK,
January 31, 1891.

General Sherman regrets that he will be unable to accept the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to its Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, on the twelfth of February, 1891.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, February 5, 1891.

GENTLEMEN:—I have had the honor to receive your polite invitation to attend the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club, on the 12th inst., and regret very much that my necessary attendance upon the sessions of the Senate will prevent my being absent from Washington at that date.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. M. EVARTS.

ARTHUR L. MERRIAM, Esq.,

And others, Committee.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 3, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, Esq., and others, Committee the Republican Club of the City of New York :

DEAR SIR:—I beg to acknowledge receipt of invitation of the Republican Club to its Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Thursday, February 12, 1891, at Delmonico's, at 6.30 P. M.

I appreciate the compliment of your invitation, and am grateful for being again thus kindly remembered. It would give me great pleasure to be with you, but my engagements are such as to render it impracticable. The delightful recollection of your generous hospitality intensifies very much my regret at not being able to accept this added courtesy.

With best wishes for the prosperity of your splendid Club, I am,

Yours very truly,

JOHN C. SPOONER.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, February 2, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the invitation of yourself and other members of the Committee of the Republican Club of New York, to attend your Fifth Annual Dinner on the 12th of February. I regret that my official duties are of such a character now that I do not feel at liberty to leave this city, though it would give me great pleasure to share in this commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 3, 1891.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of invitation to attend the Lincoln Banquet of the Republican Club of the City of New York, February 12, and for which I beg you will accept my thanks. Owing, however, to a previous engagement for the day named, I am unable to be present.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

Committee Republican Club.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 31, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am very greatly indebted for the kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to be present at the Annual Dinner at Delmonico's, February 12th, and regret extremely that the pressure of business in the House, and the necessity of constant attendance on the part of every Republican member, should make it impossible for me to leave Washington on that day.

Very truly yours,

H. C. LODGE.

ARTHUR L. MERRIAM, Esq.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 3d, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, Esq., New York City :

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret that my public duties deprive me of the pleasure of accepting the very kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York, to the Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday.

Yours truly,

C. K. DAVIS.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 4, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—Remembering with great pleasure a previous dinner of the Republican Club of New York in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, I should be exceedingly glad to accept your kind invitation for the 12th. But aside from the necessity of close attention to business in the closing days of the sessions, I have promised to join in the banquet of the Loyal Legion of Washington in a like celebration. As an ex-commander of this Commandery, I cannot ask to be relieved from my engagement.

Accept my best wishes and most grateful thanks.

Sincerely yours,

CEPHAS BRAINERD, Esq., New York City.

J. R. HAWLEY.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, 1891.

Messrs. Arthur L. Merriam, John S. Smith, John F. Baker, and others, Committee, The Republican Club, New York ;

GENTLEMEN:—I appreciate very highly your complimentary invitation to attend the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, to be given at Delmonico's on Thursday, February 12, 1891. I recall with much pleasure my attendance at a former anniversary occasion, and regret exceedingly that my official duties will prevent my being with you on the 12th instant.

Truly yours,

CHARLES F. MANDERSON.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, February 3, 1891.

To Arthur L. Merriam, Esq., and others, Committee :

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the Republican Club of New York, to be present at the annual

dinner in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, at Delmonico's, on the 12th inst. Previous engagements will, however, prevent me from accepting the invitation.

With thanks for the courtesy extended, I am

Very respectfully yours,

STEPHEN J. FIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1891.

Mr. Hiscock acknowledges the honor of an invitation to attend the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, on the 12th inst., in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, and regrets that engagements in Washington forbid his acceptance of an invitation that would take him from the city during a session of the Senate.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 31, 1891.

Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, et als., Committee, New York Republican Club:

GENTLEMEN:—Accept my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to attend the Lincoln Birthday Dinner on the 12th prox. My remembrance of the superb hospitalities of your Club, and the enthusiastic vigor of its Republicanism, would always make me welcome a summons to your board; but I have already accepted an invitation to join with the Young Men's Republican Club, of Newark, N. J., in celebrating the memory of the great Patriot, on the evening of the 12th. With all good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

C. A. BOUTELLE.

CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW YORK, February 12, 1891.

A. L. Merriam, Esq.:

DEAR SIR:—I much regret that I cannot be with you to-night at the celebration of Mr. Lincoln's Birthday.

Kindly express to the other members of the Committee my deep regret. No words of mine can adequately express my appreciation of the character and services of Abraham Lincoln; his name will ever shine with a resplendent lustre on the pages of American history; his memory will rise above the generations to come, even as the arching sky, through which the sun of prosperity shall shine by day and the moon and stars by night.

Again thanking you for the courtesy of the invitation, and regretting my inability to be present, I am,

Sincerely yours,

R. S. MACARTHUR.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Feb. 5th, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, Esq., and others of the Committee:

You have honored me with an invitation to attend the Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, February 12th, and much I regret that I shall not have the pleasure of being with you.

M. HALSTEAD.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 4th, 1891.

Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman Committee on Invitation, New York :

DEAR SIR:—Governor Hovey directs me to express his thanks to you for your invitation for the 12th instant. It would afford him much pleasure to join with the Republican Club of New York City in doing honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, and he regrets his duties are such as to prevent him from being with you.

Yours truly,

W. B. ROBERTS, *Private Secretary.*

STATE OF ILLINOIS, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, SPRINGFIELD,

February 3, 1891.

Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman Committee, The Republican Club, New York, N. Y. :

DEAR SIR:—Accept my thanks for invitation to the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in commemoration of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, to be given on the evening of February the 12th.

The sitting of the General Assembly of this State will most likely require my presence here on that date.

Under the circumstances I must decline your kind invitation. Otherwise I would be much pleased to meet with the members of your Club, and unite with them in paying homage to the memory of our martyred President, to whom this nation owes a greater debt of gratitude than it does to any other American except Washington.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH W. FIFER.

SYRACUSE, February 9, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam and others, Committee:

GENTLEMEN:—I have delayed acknowledging the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to attend the anniversary dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, hoping that I might be able to accept and be present on that occasion. But I find I cannot do so, which I very much regret.

The country has scarcely begun to appreciate its inestimable debt of gratitude to Abraham Lincoln, the greatest name in its history.

With great respect, I am very truly yours,

CHAS. ANDREWS.

NEW YORK, February 10, 1891.

Judge Wallace regrets exceedingly that he is unable to accept the kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to the fifth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, February 5, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret to say that I shall be unable to attend the annual Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club on February 12, as I have an engagement to attend a Lincoln dinner at Toledo, Ohio.

Very truly yours,

MR. ARTHUR L. MERRIAM,

ROBERT P. PORTER.

38 Cortlandt street,

New York City, N. Y.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 31, 1891.

Mr. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman, etc., Republican Club, New York:

DEAR SIR:—I have received your kind invitation to be present at the fifth annual dinner of the Republican Club, in commemoration of the birthday of Lincoln.

I regret that the pressure of other engagements makes it impossible for me to be present.

Yours very truly,

J. P. DOLLIVER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF WYOMING,
CHEYENNE, WYO., February 3, 1891.

The Republican Club of the City of New York:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to attend the Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, on Thursday, February 12, 1891.

It is a source of extreme regret to me that my official duties at this time will prevent my presence on an occasion, the object of which is so worthy and noble—the perpetuation of the memory of so grand a character in our national history as Abraham Lincoln, a name, the mention of which should swell the bosom of every true American, irrespective of politics. Though absent in body I shall be with you in thought.

Thanking you for your courtesy, and wishing your gathering all the success you anticipate, I am

Very cordially yours, AMOS W. BARBER, *Acting Governor.*

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
BISMARCK, February 4, 1891.

The Republican Club of the City of New York, Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, and others, Committee:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the distinguished honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to be present at the annual dinner of your Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

While I should deem it a rare privilege to be present on the occasion above referred to, my official duties are such as to utterly preclude my absence from the State at this time, the Legislative Assembly holding biennial sessions, and now sitting.

I assure you I am most heartily in sympathy with any movement which has for its prime object the perpetuation of the memory of this grand, illustrious statesman and martyred hero; yet I am compelled to ask you to graciously accept my compliments and regrets for Thursday, February 12, feeling that you will appreciate me as with you in spirit, if not in the flesh.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully yours,

ANDREW H. BURKE.

UTICA, February 7th.

Mr. Alfred C. Cox regrets exceedingly his inability to accept the invitation of the Republican Club, to be present at its Fifth Annual Dinner on Thursday evening, February 12th.

25 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, ST. PAUL, February 3d, 1891.

Governor W. R. Merriam regrets that official duties will prevent his acceptance of the kind invitation tendered him by the Republican Club of the City of New York to attend its Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, to be given Thursday, February 12th, 1891, at Delmonico's.

RECTORY OF THE INCARNATION, 209 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK,
February 6, 1891.

Rev. Arthur Brooks regrets that a previous engagement will prevent his accepting the kind invitation of the Republican Club to attend its Annual Dinner in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

NEW YORK, February 6, 1891.

General Horace Porter regrets that he will not be able to accept the invitation with which he has been honored by the Republican Club to attend the annual banquet on the 12th inst.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF VERMONT, HYDE PARK,
February 3d. 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, Esq., and others, Committee of the Republican Club of the City of New York:

GENTLEMEN:—I am directed by Governor Page to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to your Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, to be given Thursday, February 12, 1891.

The Governor regrets that prior obligations, which he does not feel that he can honorably neglect, will prevent his acceptance of your very courteous invitation.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant, H. M. MCFARLAND,
Secretary Civil and Military Affairs.

CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW ORLEANS, LA., COLLECTOR'S OFFICE,
February 3d, 1891.

Mr. Arthur L. Merriam, The Republican Club, New York City :

DEAR SIR:—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to attend the Fifth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club on the 12th of February, and to express my sincere regret at not being able to be present. Hoping that you will have a good time, I am,

Yours very truly,

H. C. WARMOUTH.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF WASHINGTON, OLYMPIA,
February 7th, 1891.

Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman, Republican Club, New York City :

DEAR SIR:—In acknowledging the receipt of an invitation to participate with you in your Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, permit me to say that I deeply appreciate the courtesy shown the Executive of Washington. Our Legislature is now in session, and my official duties as a consequence engross the greater share of my time. In expressing my regret that I will be unable to accept your invitation, permit me to say that my earnest wishes go out to your Club for its continued prosperity and usefulness.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,
CHAS. E. LAUGHTON, *Acting Governor.*

DETROIT, MICH., February 6, 1891.

Hon. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman, and Committee, Republican Club, New York City:

DEAR SIR:—The President of the Michigan Club regrets exceedingly that engagements in this city will prevent his acceptance of the courteous invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York for its Fifth Annual Dinner, in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday.

Your club is famous for its loyalty to the Republican party, and for the royal good time enjoyed by your guests at your annual dinners. Thanking you for the compliment conveyed to the President and the Michigan Club,

Very truly yours, FRED. E. FARNSWORTH, *Secretary.*

STATE OF NEW YORK, SENATE CHAMBER, ALBANY,
February 10, 1891.

A. L. Merriam, Esq., 38 Cortlandt Street, N. Y. City:

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret extremely that I will not be able to be present at the dinner of the Republican Club on Thursday evening next. My duties here in the Senate preclude the possibility of my attending.

Hoping that the entertainment will be in every way successful,

I am very truly yours, LISPENARD STEWART.

NEW HAVEN, February 4, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam, John S. Smith and others, Committee:

GENTLEMEN:—I regret that a previous engagement prevents my accepting your kind invitation to dine with the Republican Club of the City of New York, Thursday evening, February 12. With thanks for the compliment, believe me, Sincerely yours, S. E. MERWIN.

1432 K STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, February 4. 1891.

Mr. Justice Blatchford regrets that he cannot accept the courteous invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to attend its Fifth Annual Dinner on February 12.

FEBRUARY 6, 1891.

Messrs. Arthur L. Merriam and others, Committee, The Republican Club of the City of New York:

GENTLEMEN:—I beg to acknowledge, with many thanks, your invitation to attend your Lincoln's Birthday dinner, the 12th inst. Upon that occasion I have engaged to be at Pontiac in my own State, and, therefore, shall be deprived of the pleasure you offer.

Sincerely yours, R. A. ALGER.

STATE OF NEW YORK, ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, ALBANY,
February 11, 1891.

Mr. Arthur L. Merriam and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I had hoped to be able to attend your Fifth Annual Dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, but my duties are such as to compel my presence here in Albany.

The advantages of maintaining in good working order a Club like yours in the metropolis is plainly manifest.

A dinner given in honor of the memory of Lincoln will aid a live organization to stand more firmly by the principles he advocated, and which form the basis of the Republican party.

I wish to congratulate the Republican Club of the City of New York upon the good work it is doing. Sincerely yours,

MILO M. ACKER.

POST OFFICE, NEW YORK, N. Y., OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER,
February 12, 1891.

Mr. Arthur L. Merriam, Chairman and Treasurer, 450 Fifth Avenue, City:

DEAR SIR:—I regret that illness will not permit of my being present with you this evening. Very truly, C. VAN COTT.

TROY, N. Y., February 10, 1891.

Arthur L. Merriam of Committee, etc., Republican Club, N. Y.:

Regret I cannot be with you at Club dinner commemorative of birthday of Abraham Lincoln; reason, similar observance by Republican Club here. Blessed memory, light of patriotism to guide this people in righteousness that exalteth nations.

JOHN M. FRANCIS.

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